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ABSTRACT

The World Bank has been assisting the efforts of developing countries to reform secondary education systems for more than 35 years. During this period, the context and imperatives for education reform have changed considerably due to various factors such as globalization of the world economy and the impact of new technologies. This paper is one of a series which addresses a wide range of topics within secondary education that reflect current challenges. The paper, a country case study, describes the development of secondary education and training in Turkey. The relatively recent and rapid expansion of post-primary education is reflected in the fact that as recently as 1996 only 17% of the 25-64 age group had completed secondary education. The paper furnishes data for post-primary education for males and females, discusses the issues of quality and learning, equal access to education, management and institutional development, innovations, and World Bank support to Turkey. It cites the following issues faced by Turkish secondary education: over-centralization; employer participation; career guidance and graduate follow-up; teacher status and service conditions; and finance. Annexed are data giving the percentage share of students in secondary education for the countries of Eastern Europe and Central Asia. (BT)

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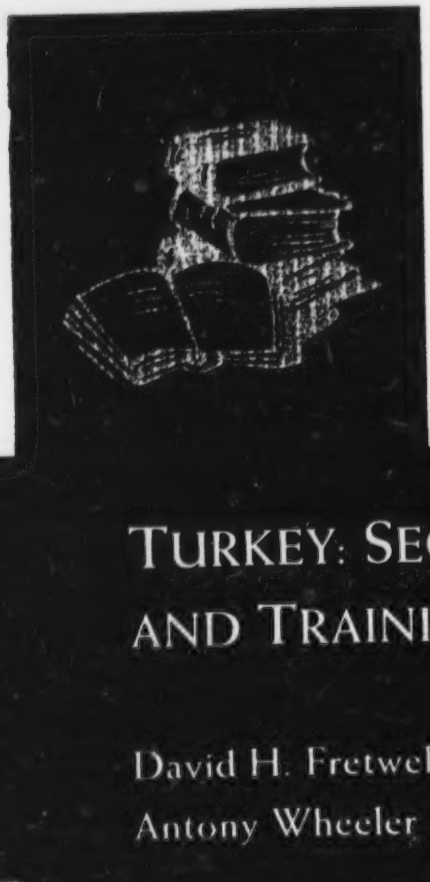

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TURKEY: SECONDARY EDUCATION AND TRAINING

David H. Fretwell
Antony Wheeler

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Secondary Education Series

Turkey
Secondary Education and Training

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Washington, D. C.

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Contents

Foreword iii

Country Context 1

Development of Secondary Education and Training 1

Quality and Learning 3

Equity 4

Management and Institutional Development 5

Innovations 6

Bank Support to the Country 6

Issues 7

Annex 9

Foreword

Welcome to the Secondary Education Series of the Human Development Network, Education Group at the World Bank.

The World Bank has been assisting developing countries in their efforts to reform their secondary education systems for more than 35 years. During this period, the context and imperatives for education reform have changed considerably due to various factors such as globalization of the world economy and the impact of new technologies. This new environment requires rethinking the traditional way of providing secondary education and training systems and both industrializing and industrialized countries are grappling how best to prepare their youth to become productive workforce as well as responsible citizens. Thus, this series will address a wide range of topics within secondary education that reflect the challenges that we are facing now.

The publications in this Secondary Education Series might broadly be considered to fall into two categories, though there are clearly overlaps: those papers addressing policy issues and those describing in more detail particular countries' experiences. This paper, "Turkey - Secondary Education and Training", is in this second category. The intention behind these country case studies is to expose the complexity of secondary education and training systems and the correspondingly difficult choices that governments face in reforming them. It is only through a clearer understanding of what is happening in particular countries that fruitful discussion and analysis, and further research, can take place. We hope that these case studies stimulate debate. We welcome your comments.

World Bank
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March 2001

Country Context

Turkey is the one active Bank borrower in the Europe and Central Asia Region which is not formally a transition country making the change from a centrally-planned to a market economy. Despite the continued existence of a large though diminishing state sector, representing about 12% of employment, the economy is characterized by dynamic development of private industry, services, and even agriculture. But there are substantial regional variations within this picture. In general terms the level of economic development declines from west to east, such that while the west broadly resembles a West European industrial economy, the east is still in many respects akin to a developing economy, so that there is major income inequality between regions, and similarly substantial variations in the demand for skills. Recent data (1998) from the State Institute of Statistics indicate that whereas Kocaeli (near Istanbul) had a per capita GDP of US$7,501, Agri on the eastern border with Iran had only US$827, about one-ninth of the Kocaeli figure. Unsurprisingly, there has been substantial east-west migration within Turkey, which places a heavy burden on education facilities in the areas of in-migration.

Despite the extent of regional variations in income and developmental levels, the system of government and administration is highly centralized, and very "top-down" in character. This has the advantage of helping to ensure universality of provision of educational services, but in a large country of diverse environments and levels of development, it is more difficult to ensure through such a centralized system that specific local needs are adequately addressed. Moreover, in a period of rapid economic development, it is more difficult for a centralized administration to react quickly to changing priorities.

Only in one respect has the system been highly responsive to change, and that has been in the political dimension, where repeated changes of government have led to a high turnover of ministers and senior officials. This has impacted adversely on the application of policy initiatives, irrespective of their appropriateness.

Development of Secondary Education and Training

Since the creation of the Turkish Republic by Ataturk in 1923, there has been a major expansion of education to all parts of the country. However, the period of compulsory education was only very recently increased from five to eight years, so that with many early leavers, especially in rural areas, secondary enrollment rates were comparatively low for many years. Also, female enrollment rates remained well below male rates, partly due to religious factors, though the gap has recently narrowed. The relatively recent and rapid expansion of post-primary education is reflected in the fact that as recently as 1996 only 17% of the 25-64 age group (males 22%, females 12%) had completed secondary education. This is lower than any other OECD country, and also lower than some Latin American and South-East Asian countries, particularly for females. Entry to secondary education takes place after completion of eight years of primary and middle education, in theory at age 15. The normal duration of secondary courses is three years, though a few take four years. In addition a small number of students undertake a preparatory year before full admission to secondary education.

Whereas in 1923 the whole country had only 23 general lycees and 20 vocational/technical (voc/tech) lycees under the Ministry of Education, by 1963 the respective totals were 288 and 366, by 1983 1,220 and 1,356, and by 1998 they had risen further to 2,611 and 3,097 (see Table 1). The numbers of students and teachers also grew rapidly, so that by 1998 there were approximately 1.1 million students and 70,000 teachers in general lycees, and over 0.9 million students and almost 70,000 teachers in voc/tech lycees. In 1998 the average general lycee had 419 students and 27 teachers, while the average voc/tech lycee had 296 students and 22 teachers. In addition by 1998 there were an additional 351 voc/tech lycees under the control of other ministries, mostly in the fields of health and agriculture. These were typically much smaller but more resource-intensive, averaging 170 students and 16.6 teachers. Reverting to the Ministry of Education institutions, about 15% of general lycees and 5.6% of voc/tech lycees are located in rural areas, but they are of much smaller size. Similarly, 17% of general lycees and 1% of voc/tech lycees operate under private auspices, but again they are of much smaller than average size.

Male students represent 55% of general lycee enrollments, and 62% of voc/tech lycee enrollments. The gender breakdown of teachers is very similar – 56.6% males in general lycees, and 61.8% males in voc/tech lycees. It must be emphasized that these are system-wide averages which conceal wide variations between different types of institutions. In particular, female students are more prevalent in private general lycees and in certain types of voc/tech lycees which concentrate on traditionally female subject areas, or which are officially designated for female students (see further below).

The institutional structure of Turkish secondary education is more complex than the foregoing data may suggest, because there are several different types of establishments in the general and voc/tech categories. The general category includes nearly 1600 public general lycees, but also about 400 public Anadolu lycees which teach some subjects in English, over 400 private general lycees, and other smaller public categories such as pedagogical and science lycees.

Table 1.
Secondary Education Institutions.

Year	General Lycees	Voc/Tech Lycees
1923	23	20
1943	109	93
1963	288	366
1983	1,220	1,356
1998	2,611	3,097

On the voc/tech side the situation is much more complicated, because there are four different directorates-general (DGs) in the Ministry of Education concerned with voc/tech education, and each has several types of voc/tech lycees under its control. The four DGs deal respectively with boys' education, girls' education, commerce and tourism education, and religious education. The boys' DG and girls' DG each control 5 types of lycees, there are 9 types under the commerce and tourism DG, and three under the religious education DG. In

addition, although there are only 25 private voc/tech lycees, they are divided into 3 types, and the voc/tech lycees under other ministries include 12 different types. Moreover, one of the types listed under each of the four Ministry of education DGs is known as the multi-program lycee, which is another source of variation. Nevertheless, despite this plethora of institutional types, the main categories are technical and vocational lycees, Anadolu technical and vocational lycees, commercial and Anadolu commercial lycees, Anadolu tourism lycees, religion and Anadolu religion lycees, and health vocational lycees. In reality the structure may be less complex than the bureaucratic organization would suggest, because in some instances institutions of different types appear to share premises, teachers, and other resources, so that it is not clear to what extent they should be distinguished as separate institutions.

It is no longer clear why there need to be four parallel DGs overseeing voc/tech education. In particular the rationale for having separate boys' and girls' DGs is open to question, given that some 10% of the students in the boys' lycees are girls, and 10% of the students in the girls' lycees are boys. Indeed, in the specific category of girls' multi-program lycees there are actually more male than female students! The inclusion of religious education within the voc/tech category also seems unusual, though it has recently been stated that this stream will be scaled back, its recent expansion having been extremely rapid, and its staffing very generous. A possible parallel to this experience is the schools run by the Shas movement in Israel. (Administrative issues are discussed further in the section on Management and Institutional Development below.)

In principle all lycee graduates are eligible to sit the entry examinations for higher education. The general education stream has the highest success rate for higher education entry, especially to degree-level university courses, with voc/tech graduates more likely to be accepted for post-secondary non-degree institutions, leading to technician-level qualifications.

Quality and Learning

Undeniably, the rate and extent of expansion of secondary education represent a major achievement by successive Turkish administrations. But several factors raise questions about the quality of performance stemming from this rapid expansion. Sources of concern include the training, remuneration and service conditions of teachers, and their impact on teacher commitment and performance, the limited operating budgets available for non-salary expenses, and the impact of large population movements from east to west and from rural to urban Turkey on school operation.

Secondary teacher-training takes place in the teacher-training faculties of the universities. But these faculties have been among the lowest preferences of higher education entrants, so that they tend to have to accept the least-qualified entrants. This phenomenon stems from the lack of knowledge of students about the substance of teaching, reinforced by the low pay and social status of teachers. Teacher-training staff tend to be less well-qualified than other university teaching staff, and in the case of voc/tech teacher-training seldom have relevant industrial experience. Teacher-training is mostly theoretical, dispensed in classrooms rather than workshops or laboratories, and not updated to take account of recent pedagogical advances. The remuneration and other service conditions of teachers also leave much to be desired.

Competence is neither recognized nor rewarded, the basis for promotion being length of service and the availability of an open position. According to recent OECD data, Turkish secondary teachers are by far the lowest-paid of any OECD country, with teachers at all levels and in all streams having the same limited salary scale, though this actually represents an improvement over the situation in earlier years. Because of these considerations, many teachers, particularly in the voc/tech stream, move to other jobs when an opportunity arises, implying the loss of more experienced teachers.

In recent years especially, educational expenditures have been decreasing as a share of GDP, from 3.2% in 1990 to 2.2% in 1995, despite an increasing GDP and the expansion of enrollments. This is by far the lowest share in any OECD country. As a result, by 1995, 92% of expenditures on primary and secondary education were current expenditure and 94% of current expenditure was for staff. This implies that the system is increasingly under-funded, and in particular that quality-related items such as textbooks, teaching-materials, and laboratory and workshop supplies are suffering from lack of resources. Moreover, schools have few means to access sources of financing other than the central government budget.

The unsatisfactory quality of secondary education has been exacerbated in many institutions by large-scale population movements. This means that schools in large cities tend to be very crowded, and obliged to operate on a multi-shift basis, while some schools in small towns or rural areas lose pupils and so become higher-cost institutions.

Another problem which particularly affects the voc/tech stream, and impacts adversely on the quality of education, is the lack of effective links to industry. Individual school principals have occasionally taken an initiative to involve local industrial managers in the development of new courses, and in a few cases similar initiatives have come from the industrial side. But in less developed areas there is little industry available to foster such initiatives, and the Ministry of Education has not been active in a systematic way in fostering constructive contacts with employers, either nationally or locally. Moreover, the Ministry has frequently been unresponsive to initiatives from below for new curricula.

Equity

In principle, Turkey has equality of access to secondary education, in all streams. In practice there are significant though not readily quantifiable inequities. The more restricted access of girls due to religious and other factors has already been mentioned, though considerable progress in rectifying this has already been achieved, such that this is no longer the major problem that it was in the past. Even in the voc/tech stream there are many female students, though they are more concentrated in fields such as commerce or tourism. A different equity problem, which is also much harder to resolve, stems from the great regional variation in levels of development in Turkey, particularly with respect to industry. This issue affects particularly the voc/tech stream. In the more industrialized areas, and in most regional cities, there is a degree and range of development of industry which offers an environment supportive of voc/tech education (subject to the reservations noted in the previous paragraph), and in turn offers a potential for employment of voc/tech graduates. But in small towns and rural areas this supportive environment is generally lacking, which means that voc/tech institutions must operate in relative

isolation. Given the resource constraints noted earlier, this means that even the most dynamic principal in such a situation has difficulty in realizing and operating a viable training institution, and graduates have little prospect of relevant employment without migration, which may also be a factor deterring female entrants. These factors make the voc/tech stream much less attractive in such environments, and will likely deter the better students, male or female, from entry.

A different type of inequity emerges at the upper end of the secondary level. In recent years the practice of providing private tuition for the university entrance examinations has become very widespread. Much of this tuition is undertaken by secondary school teachers, often to the detriment of their regular teaching duties, as a means of supplementing their low salaries. The point has been reached where this practice is reported to seriously disrupt the final year of secondary education. It is then all the more inequitable because families too poor to afford the costs of extra tuition are doubly penalized.

Management and Institutional Development

From earlier comments it is clear that this is an area of significant problems in Turkish secondary education. Almost all decision-making is centralized in the Ministry of Education, the only exceptions being with respect to teaching methods and pupil assessment, where schools have some flexibility within central guidelines. Although there are provincial-level education offices, they are limited to acting as administrative arms of the central bureaucracy, with no independent capacity. In effect, for any issue requiring a decision which is other than routine, a school principal has to communicate directly with an official in Ankara. According to the OECD, Turkey has the most highly centralized educational system of any OECD member state. Given the size of the education system, and the diversity in levels and directions of development within the country, this degree of centralization obviously implies a serious bottleneck, and furthermore significantly limits the capacity to address local variations in needs or priorities, particularly in a context of rapid economic and technological growth and change. Another factor of likely relevance is that education administrators have tended to be recruited from the ranks of longer-serving teachers, and given the obstacles to teacher dynamism inherent in the existing system, this tends to produce administrators who are risk-averse and inimical to innovation.

Clearly, there is a valid and important role for the central administration, in particular for setting general policy, establishing performance standards and exercising quality control, carrying out fundamental research, ensuring at least a minimum of equity in access to funding, and laying down administrative guidelines for the operation of schools. Provincial-level authorities should be free to work with local employers in order to determine the area's education and training needs, leading to appropriate changes of emphasis and content in curricula and programs. Together with school principals they should handle teacher selection and development, including the delivery of in-service training. At the school level there should also be active contact with local employers which can impact on the content of instruction, and schools should have the capacity to generate and retain income which they can use to sustain their activities and promote qualitative improvements. This should not be offset by reductions in budgetary allocations.

Currently in Turkey there is minimal development of school management, given the extreme centralization of the education system. Effective change in this respect will be difficult to achieve unless a more flexible and achievement-oriented scheme of service for teachers is introduced into the public service. Similarly, appropriate training of principals will also be needed.

Innovations

As might be expected with such a highly centralized system, Turkish secondary education does not have any record of *effective* innovation relevant to divergent and changing needs. Another factor in recent years has further exacerbated this adverse situation, because the political instability and fragmentation resulting in a succession of weak and short-lived governments has also produced a rapid turnover of ministers and senior officials, many of whom have initiated ideas or proposals for reform without remaining in office long enough to implement them. In practice the education system has tended to carry on regardless, irrespective of high-level mission statements and aspirations for change. As the unrealized initiatives have originated from the center, it may be questioned how useful many of them would have been if they had been realized, given the urgent need to move away from current over-centralization towards a system responsive to changing local needs. The further context of declining resource availability and low teacher status, combined with steadily increasing enrollments and institutional openings, suggests that overall system performance is also falling increasingly short of the needs of a dynamic economy.

Bank Support to the Country

Turkey has long been a major Bank client. In past years several projects were implemented which focussed on voc/tech education, but with limited impact on the improvement of the system. In 1994 and again in 1997 major reviews were carried out under project auspices which recommended far-reaching reforms, and furthermore made proposals for their implementation, but to little avail. The lack of any sustained or consistent domestic commitment to reform or modernization has meant that the main result of projects has been to promote the flow of equipment into schools without achieving much in the way of institutional amelioration or greater relevance to rapidly evolving needs. Project-related investments in hardware have no doubt helped to prevent or at least delay the system from collapsing under the weight of increasing demands on it in a context of declining resources, but the lack of concomitant improvements in "software" or policy initiatives has failed to raise the quality or relevance of system performance. Two successive projects focussed on post-secondary education had a component to improve the training of voc/tech teachers, besides developing a network of technician training centers which have become centers of excellence for the rest of the system. Although these projects supplied significant amounts of modern training equipment to project institutions, continuing turnover of trainers meant that only limited progress was achieved in updating or upgrading training, reinforced by the inability or unwillingness of the Ministry of Education to update the profile of teachers to be trained. Rather they chose to demand training in new technical specializations, thus broadening the existing system instead of introducing any attempt at more fundamental modernization.

There has been no World Bank Economic and Sector Work on education in Turkey since a sector-wide review of the system in the mid-1980s.

Issues

Turkish secondary education faces a number of serious and deep-rooted problems which adversely affect its capacity to respond to the growing and changing demand from employers for educated labor market entrants. Employers and other leaders of opinion have frequently expressed dissatisfaction with the existing performance of the system, and these concerns are shared by the Bank. Within the Ministry of Education there is considerable resistance to change at middle and lower levels, the preoccupation being with needs for expansion in response to growing enrollments. Although senior officials tend to be more receptive to innovative thinking, and have sometimes initiated it, they seldom survive in office long enough to implement their proposals. In recent years there was also a significant body of opinion which gave priority to the expansion of the religious education stream, though this now appears somewhat eclipsed.

- Over-centralization. Turkey has one of the most centralized education systems in the world for a country of its size and diversity. Effectively there is no decision-making level between the Ministry of Education bureaucracy in Ankara and individual schools throughout the country. Moreover, at least with respect to voc/tech education, the central bureaucracy is complex and appears no longer adapted to the evolving structure of educational institutions or to the changing and rapidly diversifying employment needs of the Turkish economy. There is much evidence that this structure is a major bottleneck in the efficient operation of the system, and in its responsiveness to changing demand. Educational institutions are mostly passive partners in this relationship – it takes a very determined and persevering principal to achieve approval of innovative actions by the center.

- Employer Participation. The last decade has seen substantial growth and change in the Turkish economy, accelerating pre-existing trends. Major service activities have further developed and modernized, particularly in tourism, transport, finance, and commerce. Industry has broadened and deepened, moving well beyond basic assembly to fabrication of inputs and vertical integration, with a rapidly diversifying product range and a rising level of technology and design capability. There has also been significant foreign investment. Even agriculture has seen growth and modernization in some regions of the country, as rapid urbanization has extended market demand. All of these factors contribute to a growing need for knowledgeable and adaptable labor market entrants. On paper there is a network of national and provincial advisory bodies dealing with curriculum and other issues, on which employers are represented, but in practice these have not worked to great effect, and they have had little impact at school level. There is an urgent need for school-level contacts between principals (and teachers) and local employers, with the possibility to initiate locally relevant program changes without having to wait for the results of a lengthy centralized approval process. The Bank-financed Employment and Training Project has initiated a scheme of occupational standards and certification under tripartite auspices, which is beginning to have an impact.

- Career Guidance and Graduate Follow-up. Given the recent rapid spread of access to secondary schooling, to a substantial extent the current generation of students are often the first in their families to achieve this level of education and to contemplate the variety of career options thus open to them. Because of this situation parents are seldom in a position to offer knowledgeable guidance to their offspring on career options. Thus far there is little or no career counseling available in schools to help students select courses. This situation is exacerbated by the rigidity of many courses, which do not allow for transfer to alternatives in the light of new career knowledge or opportunities. Similarly, although there have been a few attempts to follow up the employment experience of graduates, these have had limited success. A systematic follow-up of graduates would provide valuable information to guide modifications in course offerings and program innovations. It could also serve to widen the web of contacts between employers and schools. The Bank financed Employment and Training Project has initiated development of career counseling including development of a university level staff training program.

- Teacher Status and Service Conditions. The low status and pay of teachers, combined with limited promotion opportunities and lack of recognition of performance, all combine to produce a teaching force which is unmotivated and focussed on survival rather than progress. Though it would represent a major administrative departure, there is need to examine the feasibility of separating the teaching service from standard civil service terms, and designing a new scheme of service which rewards performance and initiative, so turning the teachers into a dynamic element in the educational process. The role of principals in relation to the central educational administration would also need revision and strengthening in order to facilitate innovation and responsiveness at the school level.

- Finance. As noted above, education has been receiving a declining share of GDP during the last decade, even though that share was already low by international standards to begin with. The fact that GDP has grown regularly during the same period helps to alleviate the seriousness of the implied situation, but is certainly not enough to reverse it. If the education system is to play a full role in the further development of the Turkish economy, there is an urgent need to reverse the recent trend of financing, with education receiving a larger share of public expenditure. A further step to promote innovative education would be to allow educational institutions to generate income from non-budgetary sources to fund their own operation and renewal, without obliging them to pay any part of this into central government revenues, or to use it to offset budgetary financing.

Annex

Share of Students in Secondary Education in Eastern Europe and Central Asia (percentage of total)

Country	Education Level	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Albania	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	General secondary	31.1	29.4	49.4	63.0	70.9	78.0	79.4	82.1	84.2
	Vocational/Technical	68.9	70.6	50.6	37.0	29.1	22.0	20.6	17.9	15.8
Armenia	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	General secondary	53.2	54.2	55.8	57.9	63.1	67.3	72.0	71.7	73.7
	Vocational/Technical	46.8	45.8	44.2	42.1	36.9	32.7	28.0	28.3	26.3
Azerbaijan	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	General secondary	54.2	56.3	57.4	61.0	63.8	66.8	69.7	72.4	76.0
	Vocational/Technical	45.8	43.7	42.6	39.0	36.2	33.2	30.3	27.6	24.0
Belarus	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	-
	General secondary	35.0	35.4	35.4	34.9	34.3	36.0	37.1	39.4	-
	Vocational/Technical	65.0	64.6	64.6	65.1	65.7	64.0	62.9	60.6	-
Bosnia-Herzegovina	TOTAL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	General secondary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Vocational/Technical	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bulgaria	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	General secondary	39.5	38.7	38.9	40.5	41.6	42.3	42.7	42.6	41.9
	Vocational/Technical	60.5	61.3	61.1	59.5	58.4	57.7	57.3	57.4	58.1
Croatia	TOTAL	-	-	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	General secondary	-	-	13.0	18.8	23.6	25.3	24.7	24.6	24.7
	Vocational/Technical	-	-	87.0	81.2	76.4	74.7	75.3	75.4	75.3
Czech Republic	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	General secondary	17.8	18.9	17.7	17.4	15.8	13.1	13.2	14.5	15.2
	Vocational/Technical	82.2	81.1	82.3	82.6	84.2	86.9	86.8	85.5	84.8
Estonia	TOTAL	-	100	-	100	100	100	100	100	-
	General secondary	64.8	49.0	67.5	50.2	52.4	55.0	54.7	53.5	-
	Vocational/Technical	-	51.0	-	49.8	47.6	45.0	45.3	46.5	-
FYR Macedonia	TOTAL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
	General secondary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	31.2
	Vocational/Technical	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	68.8
Georgia	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	General secondary	67.6	70.4	70.6	69.4	62.8	63.3	61.7	64.6	63.5
	Vocational/Technical	32.4	29.6	29.4	30.6	37.2	36.7	38.3	35.4	36.5
Hungary	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	General secondary	23.9	24.0	24.6	25.6	26.1	26.8	27.0	27.1	27.6
	Vocational/Technical	76.1	76.0	75.4	74.4	73.9	73.2	73.0	72.9	72.4
Kazakhstan	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	-
	General secondary	42.9	44.8	45.5	44.6	44.9	45.5	45.9	52.5	-
	Vocational/Technical	57.1	55.2	54.5	55.4	55.1	54.5	54.1	47.5	-
Kyrgyz Republic	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	General secondary	61.7	62.8	62.8	62.3	61.7	62.0	64.0	67.8	71.0
	Vocational/Technical	38.3	37.2	37.2	37.7	38.3	38.0	36.0	32.2	29.0
Latvia	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	-
	General secondary	32.0	31.4	31.6	33.6	40.4	44.2	47.2	53.1	-
	Vocational/Technical	68.0	68.6	68.4	66.4	59.6	55.8	52.8	46.9	-
Lithuania	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	General secondary	36.7	38.6	40.5	46.9	46.1	48.7	49.5	52.9	54.2
	Vocational/Technical	63.3	61.4	59.5	53.1	53.9	51.3	50.5	47.1	45.8
Moldova	TOTAL	-	-	100	100	100	100	100	100	-
	General secondary	-	-	38.8	39.3	41.3	43.2	44.6	46.0	-
	Vocational/Technical	-	-	61.2	60.7	58.7	56.8	55.4	54.0	-

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Poland	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	General secondary	22.5	23.4	25.2	26.9	28.1	29.2	30.5	31.1	32.4
	Vocational/Technical	77.5	76.6	74.8	73.1	71.9	70.8	69.5	68.9	67.6
Romania	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	General secondary	3.5	12.8	21.6	26.5	29.0	29.4	29.0	30.0	30.4
	Vocational/Technical	96.5	87.2	78.4	73.5	71.0	70.6	71.0	70.0	69.6
Russian Federation	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	General secondary	31.3	33.0	32.8	33.1	33.9	36.2	37.1	38.3	39.8
	Vocational/Technical	68.7	67.0	67.2	66.9	66.1	63.8	62.9	61.7	60.2
Slovak Republic	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	General secondary	18.1	19.2	20.1	20.9	21.7	22.4	23.2	24.1	25.0
	Vocational/Technical	81.9	80.8	79.9	79.1	78.3	77.6	76.8	75.9	75.0
Slovenia	TOTAL	-	-	-	-	100	100	100	100	-
	General secondary	-	-	-	-	24.3	24.4	24.4	24.8	-
	Vocational/Technical	-	-	-	-	75.7	75.6	75.6	75.2	-
Tajikistan	TOTAL	100	100	-	100	-	-	100	-	-
	General secondary	67.3	76.7	80.4	64.8	76.0	77.0	65.6	-	-
	Vocational/Technical	32.7	23.3	-	35.2	-	-	34.4	-	-
Turkmenistan	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	General secondary	62.5	63.9	62.9	62.6	64.9	70.7	76.1	69.4	77.1
	Vocational/Technical	37.5	36.1	37.1	37.4	35.1	29.3	23.9	30.6	22.9
Ukraine	TOTAL	-	-	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	General secondary	-	-	38.3	37.5	37.6	39.9	41.6	43.9	47.6
	Vocational/Technical	-	-	61.7	62.5	62.4	60.1	58.4	56.1	52.4
Uzbekistan	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	-	-	-	-
	General secondary	53.7	56.2	56.8	53.7	51.4	-	-	-	-
	Vocational/Technical	46.3	43.8	43.2	46.3	48.6	-	-	-	-
Yugoslav Republic	TOTAL	-	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	-
	General secondary	-	27.1	35.1	44.3	55.4	56.2	53.7	55.7	-
	Vocational/Technical	-	72.9	64.9	55.7	44.6	43.8	46.3	44.3	-

— Not available

Notes: Definition of title - percentage of students enrolled by type of upper secondary education in the total number
enrolled in upper secondary education

Sources: World Bank staff estimates based on data supplied by UNICEF ICDC

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